NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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the progressive newsweekly

Vol. I, No. 50 — NEW YORK, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 26, 1949

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With his back to Soviet Foreign Minister Vishinsky, who inscrutably nibbles a fingernail as the UN's fourth General Assembly session gets under way at Lake Success, British Foreign Secretary Bevin looks glum—well, anyway, devalued. Possibly he is thinking about the atom bomb: Does Vishinsky have it, or doesn't he? (On Friday President Truman said he does.)

'I want peace because I am a priest'

By Abbe Jean Boulier

Abbe Boulier is a French Roman Catholic priest who stands up with anybody—including Communists—for peace. Last July, acting Archbishop of Paris Roger Baussart decreed that Boulier would no longer have the right to say mass. A month ago it was reported that the Abbe, after speaking with the Archbishop, had won a reversal of the order. The GUARDIAN publishes below, as the most courageous statement made by any Western Roman Catholic in the cold war era, Boulier's answer to the International Peace Day (Oct. 2) ballot now being circulated in France.

THIS vote for peace is not merely an expression of opinion. The ballot says: "I AM TELLING THE GOVERNMENT MY WILL!" That is a statement from the governed to the governors; that is to say, in a democracy, from the master to his servants. Law is the product of the general will. The general will—that is I, that is you.

But the whole world votes for peace. . . . "Everyone looks for happiness," Pascal used to say, "even those who are going to hang themselves." President Truman says: "If to preserve peace we had to resort to war, I would not hesitate." How many Trumans are there among us? Mr. Chamberlain brought "peace for a generation" back from Munich. The Atlantic Pact, which is a commitment to go to war IMMEDIATELY, is presented to an appalled public opinion as a guarantee of peace.

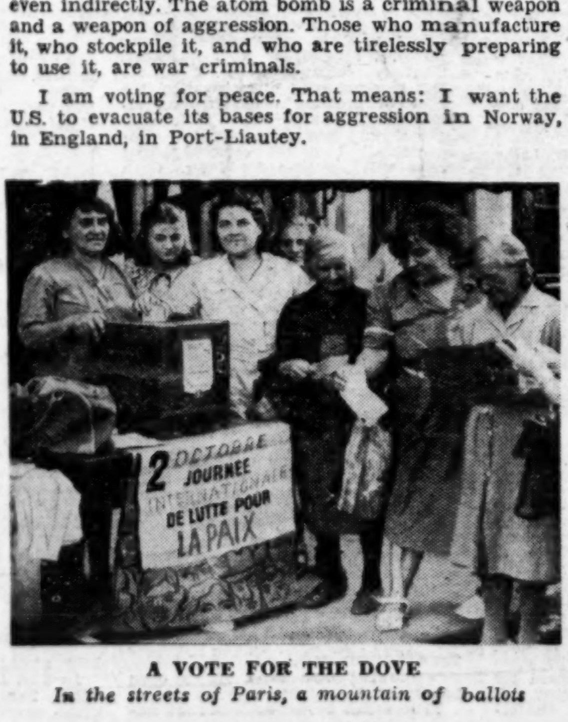
The crime I will not abet

I am voting for peace: what does that mean? First of all, I am for the United Nations. In accordance with the UN Charter, every threat of war must be taken before the Security Council where it will be discussed and re-discussed and re-discussed again, and this will go on indefinitely until the whole thing blows over.

I will not stand for French blood again flowing without discussion, without a murmur, on the H-hour of the D-day when the State Department—a Forrestal!—will declare that the United States has been attacked, I don't know where; maybe at Murmansk.

Furthermore, I don't want to be a criminal, not even indirectly. The atom bomb is a criminal weapon and a weapon of aggression. Those who manufacture it, who stockpile it, and who are tirelessly preparing to use it, are war criminals.

I am voting for peace. That means: I want the U.S. to evacuate its bases for aggression in Norway, in England, in Port-Liautey.



A VOTE FOR THE DOVE

In the streets of Paris, a mountain of ballots

War is going on now in Greece, in Viet-Nam, in China. "I am voting for peace" means: I want the war to end immediately, and the right of peoples to manage their own affairs to be finally recognized.

I want it because I am a man. The same red blood which runs in my veins runs in the veins of those whose skins are yellow. I felt the same horror and the same revulsion when Vichy delivered our French women to the SS for torture as I feel now when these same Vichy people are delivering Vietnamese women to the same SS.

I want peace because I am a priest. I will not betray the solemn declarations of the three last Popes: Benedict XV, Pius XI and Pius XII. I will not betray the secular teachings of Catholic theologians on just and criminal wars. Whatever the pretext or occasion may be, a third world war is a criminal war and even the thought of it is criminal.

I want peace because I am a jurist. In international law, an aggressive war is a crime and the whole state is responsible before the law.

Save honor and reason!

Our rulers, as guardians of the French state, are responsible for a policy which they know will inexorably lead to war. They must be reminded of it, and that is why I vote for peace, why I am "telling the government my will."

Is that clear?

Well then, don't wait. Throw yourself into the fight for peace. Vote and make those around you vote. Fight courageously. You will not fight, as Mr. Truman thinks you will, to the last Frenchman. You yourself are going on record, as a free citizen, as a man of reason and heart.

When I shed my blood, I shall shed it pure as I received it.

If the worst must come, if the horrors and crimes must be again repeated, if the human beast is again unleashed, I shall have saved my honor and my reason. I am voting for peace.

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Jennings Perry

The politics of mystification

I'M not going to lie awake fretting over perfidious Albion any longer. For all its storied stodginess, British statecraft has an eleventh hour lightfootedness that gets it by. Britain knows how to roll with the punch of changing times and how to take grist from the grinding vanities of other nations. Whether it is playing France against Germany or Turkey against Greece, as in other times, or the U.S. against the U.S.S.R. in our day, they always can make a living at it. There'll always be an England—Liberal, Conservative or Labor sems to make little difference.

And so, I will save my anxiety now for our own Republicans, whose determination to be different may yet be the death of them.

The Republicans are off on the wrong foot again. They seem never to learn. It is not at all unlikely that their obtuseness yet will prove fatal, leaving us nothing for it but to raise up another party to plague the Democrats, and to keep us from becoming a horrible one-party state. Like the Russians.

What alarms me so much about the Republicans is not their utter lack of imagination but the hopelessly closed circuit in which their imagination moves. Someone has told them that the way to get back into the White House is to ride in on a magic word — some **Open Sesame** which, repeated loud enough and long enough, with the right inflection, will cause the locks to fly open and the Welcome mat to roll out.

LAST year the magic word was unity. This was a "for" word. Dewey intoned it from the Atlantic to the Pacific in chocolate-coated accents millions now living never will be able to forget. It was to be the **Back to Normalcy of 1948**, but backfired. Thousands of other enchanted Republicans dutifully marched seven times around the national capitol babbling "Unity! Unity!" till the returns slapped them down. It will be a generation before the word itself recovers.

This year, the magic word **is statism.** This is an "against" word. In Republican newspeak statism is supposed to connote a distillation of all that is evil, and set our teeth gnashing against the Democrats. Mr. Dulles himself derived it from the French for the opening campaign. Already, Republicans of smaller fry are rubbing the word like a wish-piece. In one 15 minute radio debate, the other evening, Indiana's overshouting Jenner stuck in "statism" 16 times, though it was plain that the term had no more meaning for him at the end than at the beginning.

THE pitiful part is that the Republicans do not have to campaign with such voodoo. There are things to be said about the Democrats, about the conduct of the government, that can be spelled out. The "party of Lincoln" cannot be unaware of the Administration's failure to advance civil rights legislation by an inch; in its traditional role of watchdog over the national solvency the G.O.P. could howl becomingly against the extravagance of a quarrelsome, querulous foreign policy whose increasing military commitments account for the dropsical distention of the nation debt.

True, the party is hampered on the one hand by the touchiness of its Southern Democratic affiliates and on the other by the foreign policy fellow-traveling of Messrs. Vandenberg and Dulles. But these embarrassments may not be offset by mere incantation. The people will need to be no brighter in 1950 than in 1948 to understand that the substitution of Mr. Dulles' indefinable "statism" for Mr. Dewey's indefinable "unity" gets the Republican party no farther, from election year to election year, than creeping senility can crawl.

THE MAILBAG

Smog smasher

SPRUCE PINE, N. C.

Your powerful little paper is a beacon of truth shining through a smog of lies, propaganda, suspicion and hate. You are serving a great national need—and serving it well.

As you near your first birthday anniversary, we wish you many happy returns and throw you a big vote of thanks! **L. L. Riddle**

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What country is this?

JOPLIN, MO.

I am unemployed and have a wife and eight children in school and one daughter, 15, with rheumatic fever. She was in the Mercy Hospital, Kansas City, for seven and one-half months. She is at home now and not able to attend school.

The doctor wrote out a diet she was to have and some medicine, and as I was not working I could not buy the food that she was to eat if she was to ever get well, so my wife went to the relief and welfare board here. They told my wife that if I was an able-bodied man, they could not help us at all. So my wife told her it looked like you could help a sick child to some food she could eat, especially that recommended by a state physican. They said nothing.

It looks like I am in Germany under Hitler's rule and not in the Christian nation we call America, the home of the brave and the free.

I am off work because the Eagle Picker Insulation Wool plant has laid off about 70% of the employees and is just barely running. The union thinks the layoff is to scare the workers, and when the contract expires the first of the year, then they will cut the wages. The same Eagle Picker Co. controls all the lead and zinc mines in this area and has cut the miners $3.08 an eight-hour shift.

So I think the rules of this dear old U.S.A. ought to help the common class in this country instead of giving it all to Europe.

I am not taking the GUARDIAN but sure will as soon as I can get to work so I can pay for it. **Lem A. Davis**

Daily Express, London

"Please, sir, I don't think there is any need to bother the American atomic experts for the 'know-how.' . . ."

Dewey's whitewash

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The following is a copy of a letter just sent to Governor Dewey:

I would like to return the whitewash you sent us yesterday. Its watery veneer didn't cover the bloodstains in our car. Nor did it repair the smashed windows and dented body. It didn't erase from our minds the leering faces of your storm troopers who clubbed our cars through four miles of winding hell; the crowd that tried to overturn our car when our bleeding driver skidded to a stop; the crashing rocks; the screaming women and children.

A pane of glass can be easily replaced. But democracy, once shattered, is hard to mend. **Rick Sklar**

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It was no riot

BRONX, N. Y.

I find the GUARDIAN an invaluable part of my life as a progressive. In the Sept. 5 issue, I noticed a cartoon on page one with the words "Peekskill riot" in it. I object to the reference to the Peekskill attack as a "riot." A riot infers both parties participated in a brawl, when actually one party was attacked by another. **Julian Chazin**

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All truth is one

GREENSFORK, IND.

I am writing this to let you know how much I liked your Report to Readers on Peekskill. I am in hearty agreement with every word of it, particularly what you say about the impossibility of disassociation of one's self from Robeson's political views, for certainly all justice is one, and all truth is one.

Since the need for general education of the public is so great on these issues, in order that we may prevent fascism in this country, I suggest that you publish the story of Peekskill in pamphlet form so that it may be distributed throughout the country. **Mrs. Virginia B. Larkey**

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Celestial chuckles?

HOUSTON, TEX.

Since the Peekskill holocaust, many citizens have had their eyes opened to the fact that the fascistic spirit of one of the most powerful organized religious forces in the world is in no manner similar to the sweetness and light spread by the Christ of almost 2,000 years ago. However, we presume that God must have a huge sense of humor. **Mike Shea**

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Advice to PP

ALLEGANY, N. Y.

The Progressive Party can become a strong contender in U. S. politics provided: (1) it consolidates behind it all left wingers subscribing to the democratic process; (2) that it endorse only its own candidates for office; (3) that it drop all known Communists from official positions in the party, thus gaining public confidence; and (4) that it work out the details of party policy more fully in order to be prepared for the opportunities awaiting it through the bankruptcy of the bipartisan cold war program with its chaotic economic conditions already in evidence. The party's foundation is sound. Peace and equality are Christian principles. **William Robbins**

GUARDIAN's position has been and will be that, since world peace depends on a live-and-let-live understanding between Western and Eastern ideas of democracy, an American Progressive Party, to be effective, must continually strive to be a working model of cooperation between Communists and non-Communists on the left. Deeper consideration may show our correspondent the dangers of his third suggestion. Ed.

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Discrimination over 40

JAMAICA, N. Y.

FEPC fair employment proposals to ban job discrimination on account of race, creed, religion and color are splendid. But why do "liberals" and master minds ignore the vital problem of age discrimination barriers against persons past 40 or 45? **George Durst**

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Eclipse of the Sun

BALTIMORE, MD.

Today I have received the GUARDIAN and saw my letter to you in reference to Robeson published. That same letter was also mailed to the Baltimore Evening Sun and was not published. Thanks to the GUARDIAN for publishing letters for or against its paper. That is Americanism. **Dena Caplis**

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The free press

PORTLAND, ORE.

Enclosed herewith is a clipping from this morning's (Portland) Oregonian, depicting in rather striking form that leading northwest journal's conception of the workingman, particularly the steel worker.

This cartoon is so extraordinarily (isn't it?) vicious, malignant and insulting that it should be reproduced as a reflection of the reactionary press' attitude toward the working class. **Clay Fulks**

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Taylor's exit

PARIS, FRANCE

I believe that a newspaper like the GUARDIAN must deepen the political understanding of the people. Thus far it has not always done that. An instance is your report on Glen Taylor's "sell-out."

It is not enough simply to report his statement, ". . . the American people do not want a splinter party. . ." and let it go at that. Taylor's leaving the Progressive Party represents a retreat in the face of growing reaction, and although you write that "his congressional record continues progressive," I doubt seriously that this will be true for long. Such a major surrender to reaction will certainly be followed by further capitulation.

The GUARDIAN's failure to explain the real significance of Taylor's return to a party, which is even worse than it was when he justifiably left it to run on the Progressive Party ticket, does harm to our fight to rally Progressives who, unlike Taylor, will stand up and fight as the going gets rougher. **An American Progressive**

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So Italy may know

SPRINGFIELD, OHIO

I am sending my GUARDIAN to my Italian friends in Genoa, Rome and Naples, so they may become acquainted with the Progressive Party's aims in the making of a true democracy, where no citizen of the U. S. A. shall remain half free as is now the plight of our good Negro. **Elizabeth A. Paulig**

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Who owns America?

KIRKWOOD, MO.

Following is a copy of an open letter to President Truman:

There can be no doubts that unemployment will intensify itself. The only way we can have full employment is to have public employment of all employables. This, however, must be financed. Our government debt is now 254 billion dollars. The debt has increased 3 billion dollars in the last few months. There is no question but that government bonds will depreciate. We cannot finance relief by issuing bonds perpetually. We will either arrange to finance the employment of the unemployed or see many millions in dire want. When Congress granted private-owned banks authority to issue money, they gave America to the bankers. Banks have had authority to issue money for 158 years. **John L. Talbott**

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Politics with a future

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY

Your paper is sincere and courageous. Undoubtedly it does the best services to the working people of America by criticizing frankly and without fear; supporting always the vital interests of simple man against oppression.

Keep being firm and true to these principles, because politics relating to matters of principle are the only politics that have a future. **D. J. Szekeley**

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Englishwoman in U. S. A.

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In 1649 the English cut off their king's head. In 1949, with a moderate amount of organisation, they could repeat the performance—if they wanted to.

The appearance of Ian Jefferson's witty article "The Royalty Racket Is Flourishing" in the GUARDIAN at the present moment plays into the hands of the most reactionary elements in England and America. They, while themselves endangering the peace of the world, would like nothing better than to have the average man of each country blame his opposite number for all the storm and stress.

The institution of inherited royalty will, I hope, one day give place to that of the royalty of high intellectual endeavour, in some way not as yet fully apparent to me. For that royalty to be accepted, it will be necessary for each of its subjects to enjoy full freedom in the life around him, i.e., to have ceased to suffer from the varied neurotic ills of modern society.

A more equalitarian economic life and a finer education will at least contribute to the attainment of that freedom.

In the meantime, it is not enough for Ian Jefferson to point a finger of scorn at an institution which is merely the expression of the present stage of development of the English people. He should, as well, place it in proper relationship with the many far less innocuous expressions of American society.

Then he would help people along the road to true individual freedom, the freedom of the adult mind to live in mental as well as material security, a freedom based on full consciousnes of the necessary results of one's own and corporate actions. **An Englishwoman**

Progressive Party job conference

500 delegates map a program for work, wages and welfare

By Tabitha Petran

CLEVELAND

OUTSIDE Cleveland's Public Auditorium, a stone's throw from the shores of Lake Erie, a member of the city subversive squad took down auto license numbers of delegates arriving for the Progressive Party's Conference on Jobs and the Economic Crisis. The auditorium's fourth-floor conference room filled slowly as delegates came in from Texas, North Carolina, Alabama, Connecticut, California and 20 other states, many after driving all night. They were plain people and many looked tired.

About 500 strong, almost a third of them were Negroes. They came, in the words of Rev. M. W. Mobley, Negro minister of Baltimore, "to learn from comparison with other states how to cope with the unemployment situation at home and to get an education that will help us solve our problems."

A standing ovation greeted Henry Wallace, whose keynote address urged democratic planning for the welfare state. "I met him in Durham last year," a gray-haired Negro whispered to her neighbor. "I always follow him close. He knows the way."

Many diligently took notes as Congressman Vito Marcantonio told how their representatives betrayed civil rights and the fight to repeal Taft-Hartley.

BOOM-BUST CURE: Heartiest applause of the opening session went to radio commentator Arthur Gaeth when he said: "No man or woman in America should take out of the economy more than he or she is able to use. Otherwise we will continue to go from Boom to Bust." The delegates were looking for basic solutions.

Bill Elconin, California organizer for the United Electrical Workers, chairman of the labor panel, said the only real solution is to increase the share of working people in the national income, and the first step is a wage increase.

They yelled approval when he called the report of the Steel Board "a kick in the teeth for the American people" and said: "The only reason Philip Murray wasn't kicked in the belly by the steel barons was that he was crawling on that belly and they couldn't get at him."

The "tailism" of the right-wing CIO which has brought the threat of a general wage freeze; increasing jimcrow practices by some CIO unions; the need for militant mobilization of the rank and file of all unions for jobs and wage increases—these were stressed by union delegates.

OPEN UP TRADE: Our program must be to organize, fight for wages, build the Progressive Party, said a Philadelphia worker. A Milwaukee railroad worker, describing how the coming of Diesel power is spreading unemployment on the railroads, demanded a fight for higher pensions as well. An Ohio unionist, who told of widespread unemployment in Ohio's machine tool industry resulting from the U.S. blockade of Eastern Europe, called the fight for trade with Russia as important as the fight for wages.

There was hard-headed awareness by white and Negro alike that at the core of the fight for jobs and militant trade unions is the fight for Negro economic rights. One Negro after another rose to tell how he had lost his jobs or been downgraded to menial tasks.

A Chicago delegate reported that his wife and other Negro workers were recently fired by the Campbell Soup Co., their jobs given to displaced persons from Europe. These stories gave life to statistics which showed, for example, that in Baltimore where Negroes represent 10% of the labor force, they make up 60% of the unemployed.

THE TEXAS SHOVE: The most rewarding session came Sunday afternoon when delegates exchanged experiences in handling problems of relief and unemployment. Rev. Mobley told how Baltimore's Council on Jobs and Relief was organized. Tom Neal, Progressive Party director of Texas, reported that plain clothes men circulate in unemployment offices in his state, taking down names and listening to the talk and, if they don't like it, shoving unemployed people outside.

In St. Louis, a house-to-house survey of 1,000 families with unemployed members, made by the Progressive Party, found nearly all volunteering the information that they don't like our foreign policy. The typical reaction was: "If we didn't give our money to the people in Europe, we might have some for the people at home."

"They haven't got it quite straight," the Missouri delegate explained, "but we don't have to be afraid to tell them what we think of Truman's foreign policy."

UNITE THE JOBLESS: A non-Progressive Party delegate from a Cincinnati Workers Club criticized the conference for not stressing the relation of civil rights to employment. "Everybody who wants unemployment compensation in Ohio has to sign a loyalty oath," he said.

It was unanimously agreed that organization of the unemployed is No. 1 priority for the Progressive Party now. Elmer Benson, former governor of Minnesota, urged that this task be undertaken without sectarianism. His plea was echoed by many from the floor. As the conference adjourned late Sunday afternoon, weary delegates starting their long drives home felt, as a Houston businessman put it:

"It was hard work but it was worth it."

1,000,000 signatures

THE Progressive Party wound up its two-day conference on jobs and the economic crisis by adopting a 6-point action program to stimulate employment and guarantee the rights of the jobless.

The plan called for:

1. A $50,000,000,000 public works program to build schools, roads, hospitals and TVAs.

2. An increase in unemployment benefits to $35 a week for 52 weeks a year, with $5 a week for each dependent.

3. Resumption of payments to unemployed veterans by passage of a new 52-20 bill.

4. A two-billion-dollar food stamp plan to supply an adequate diet to the unemployed and raise the income of farmers.

5. Passage of Rep. Marcantonio's housing bill.

6. Legislation to provide a pension of $100 a month to all the age of 60.

The first two demands were labeled "emergency measures on which action in the next session of the 81st Congress must be secured to prevent widespread deprivation and suffering by millions of unemployed."

To secure enactment of these two measures the conference planned a petition campaign for 1,000,000 signatures to be presented to Congress at the opening of the January session. A national committee was organized to coordinate the entire program and spearhead the petition drive.

This is the Progressive Party

Tobias J. Johnson, 80, (left) who was at the LaFollette Progressive Party Convention 24 years ago, and Tony Yukic, steelworker and now a member of UE, who came here from Yugoslavia in 1912.

Listen to the story of Luanna Cooper

CLEVELAND

THE most impressive feature of this gathering, said ex-governor of Minnesota Elmer Benson as the final session of the Progressive Party job conference drew to a close, "is its demonstration that the rank and file have understanding and can articulate." Turning to a strong-featured woman who sat stiffly on the platform, her black hat jammed on at a severe angle, her face immobile, he said: "I think Miss Cooper's got what it takes to do the job we've got to do." The delegates thought so too and said it with cheers.

There were tears in Luanna Cooper's eyes as she left the platform. A member of Local 10 of the CIO Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union, she came to Cleveland as a rank-and-file delegate from Winston-Salem, N. C.

Sunday morning during the panel discussion of women's economic rights, she spoke from the floor. Her speech brought the audience to its feet. They refused to sit down again until she had taken a seat on the platform among the leaders of the Party.

KNOWS WHAT THEY NEED: Luanna Cooper can neither read nor write. "I'm 49, born in Williamsberg, South Carolina," she told a GUARDIAN reporter. "My mother was afflicted. I never got education. I had to work. I had to get the groceries and sometimes they wouldn't sell to us. I don't understand reading but I know what people need. I've been in service most of my life."

LUANNA COOPER

"Speeches is all right, but . . ."

Thirteen years ago Miss Cooper went to work for the Winston Leaf Tobacco Storage Co. In 1943 the FTA came to Winston-Salem. "A drinking girl told me about it one day when we left the plant. I didn't like her but I knew it was right. The bosses are always telling you some day you'll get to be a big boss man but you'll be dead and all your children be dead before you get to be a boss."

She became a steward in her local, a fighting organization made up mostly of Negro women. Recently an independent union and the right-wing CIO have tried to raid it, the latter using Negroes to spearhead the drive. "They're using Negroes as scarecrows," she said. "They're trying to have jimcrow unions. But I'm telling you jimcrow unions aren't good. They wanted me to join. I told them: 'I get jimcrow free. I won't pay for that'."

BACK TO THE KITCHEN: Last December Miss Cooper was fired. She hasn't had a job since.

"I could've got a job as domestic. But I didnt want to leave the union. But I guess I got to take it now. Women are being pushed around, back into the kitchen. During the war domestics got $25 a week. Now they get them cheap.

"In our community today, women can't send their kids to school. Some of them go without food themselves to get shoes so the kids can go to school. And they won't give you relief in Winston-Salem unless you tell them where you were born, where you're going to die and who your pallbearers are going to be."

PAPER STOPS NO BULLETS: For the conference, Miss Cooper had a simple message: "I go to conferences and conferences and every place I get armfuls of papers and resolutions. Sometimes the same resolutions and the same papers.

"But resolutions on paper won't solve people's problems. We got to send men and women out to organize. These people want to live and if the bosses don't like having you around bullets will hit you in the head. But we have to send men and women to organize the people, to tell the people the truth.

"This nation won't ever be free unless people learn the truth. Speeches is all right but you might as well be asleep if you have just speeches. I tell you, black and white, we can't survive without the other. We got to organize."

HAVE YOU GOT FOUR FRIENDS?

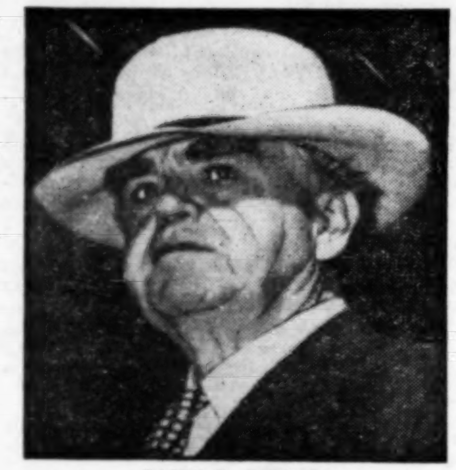
See Report to Readers, P. 11

ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

LABOR WEEK

The miners walk out, steel wavers and UE stands up to Phil Murray

CHARLIE SUPINSKY dug coal underground for 42 years. He is 62 now and he has no money put by. Two months ago the United Mine Workers sent him his first pension check: $100. It was to come each month. He and his wife were to manage on it for the rest of their lives.



JOHN L. LEWIS
What Jawn says goes

Then the owners of southern mines decided that they would withhold the 20c-a-ton royalty they were to pay into the pension fund. They would use it as a club over UMW President John L. Lewis. Lewis met with the two other pension fund directors, Ezra Van Horn, mine executive, and Senator Styles Bridges (R-N.H.). Lewis and Bridges voted to suspend all pension payments.

ROCKING-CHAIR MINERS: The mining towns of western Pennsylvania are full of Supinskys plainly visible in rocking chairs on the porches of their shacks. The word raced quickly over the minefields: No pension—no output.

At the week-end 480,000 miners in 20 states were refusing to work. No strike had been ordered; therefore no injunction, no action by President or Congress or court could matter. The men had heard that the southern operators were reneging on their pension payments. They would not work the mines.

THOSE STOCKPILES: The northern operators paid their monthly $3,000,000 into the fund, but it was not enough to start the pension checks moving through the mails; the miners idled on the porches.

Most of them had been on a three-day week for many months. The short week and pensions are key points in the union's program for spreading the work. Otherwise, Lewis fears, there may be too many miners and, as stockpiles accumulate, there may be layoffs, wage cuts, union busting and chaos.

STEELWORKERS

Fluttering strike

THE great steel strike fluttered, flared here and there in wildcat walkouts, but at no time seemed more than a maneuver.

President Philip Murray of the United Steelworkers had talked strike, then enthusiastically accepted the verdict of President Truman's fact-finding panel, which ruled out a wage increase and suggested a 10c package containing a problematical pension in 1950 and an insurance scheme.

But Big Steel said it objected to paying all of the bill for that modest package. Again Murray took the stance of a strike leader. The strike deadline was noon Sept. 25.

President Truman proposed a truce to Oct. 1 and the steel companies accepted. Murray made a great show of reluctance and vowed this truce would be the last. Federal Conciliator Cyrus Ching said that the greatest divergence seemed to center around the meaning of the words "basis for bargaining" referring to the panel's recommendations.

Few thought that steelworkers would strike over the meaning of those words. But Murray's seeming disagreement with Big Steel was saving his face with the men in the mills.

TOUGH LOOK: The temper of the men was seen in three wildcat walkouts in the mills near Pittsburgh. The wildcatters numbered 5,300 in all. Some walked out on local grievances; some said they were tired of the protracted negotiations. Beneath it was a restlessness. Murray tried to get the men back. He looked as tough as he could.

AUTO WORKERS

Stroke of genius?

THE steel formula haunted the United Auto Workers negotiations with Ford. One hundred days at the conference table had brought the union no closer to its demands for $100-a-month pensions, company-financed health welfare funds and a cost-of-living wage increase.

On Sept. 19 UAW President Walter P. Reuther announced that on Sept. 29, 116,000 workers in 47 Ford plants would walk out.

But on Sept. 16 a UAW paper characterized the steel settlement as "a stroke of genius."

That stroke foretold the end. On Sept. 22 the company announced that it too would accept the steel formula. To Ford workers it would mean $50-a-month pension and little chance for a wage raise.

ELECTRICAL WORKERS

Officers re-elected, Murray challenged

THE rank-and-file of the United Electrical and Radio Workers have been belabored by sermons in church, brass-knuckled by raiders from CIO headquarters, called red by press and radio. But last week in the 14th convention at Cleveland they voted their leaders back into office by a 60% majority.

On the platform in the Public Auditorium stood stocky, tough Albert J. Fitzgerald, re-elected president. And in the aisles stood CIO Secretary James B. Carey, a UE delegate, calling names. Along with Fitzgerald the delegates returned to office Secretary-Treasurer Julius Emspak and Director of Organization James J. Matles.

LOOK AT THE RECORD: UE voted not only for men but for policies. They passed by the same majority a collective bargaining resolution which condemned the steel settlement because it abandoned the fight for a wage raise and because it used government panels to replace collective bargaining. Though CIO preached that wage raises were unattainable, UE pointed out that it had won wage raises, pensions, insurance and health benefits in 300 shops in 1949. The convention voted to demand a package of wage raises, pensions and other benefits totaling $500 per year per man.

The challenge

Then the union girded for battle. In a separate resolution it listed the raids made against it by the auto workers; the efforts of top CIO brass to divide and control UE. And it instructed the delegates to the CIO convention on Oct. 31 to make these demands of Philip Murray:

- Withdraw the charters from the raiders.
- Order all raiding to cease and file charges against transgressors.
- Remove from the payroll all CIO officers guilty of raiding.
- Order James B. Carey to cease his "wrecking activities" in UE.
- Make monthly reports of CIO expenditures to UE so that it may check on the CIO funds used by James Carey to disrupt UE.
- Give assurances that UE members will be allowed to run their own union.

If Murray fails to comply, the resolution said, the convention authorizes the executive board of UE to withhold the per capita tax to CIO.

MARITIME UNION

98% steamroller

JOSEPH CURRAN, president of the National Maritime Union, proved strong enough to control his union's convention in New York but not strong enough to effect a complete steamroller.

A resolution to expel Communists was defeated, though a Curran resolution to bar "Communists, Fascists and Nazis" from future membership was passed. The latter motion squeaked through on three votes. Opposition leaders contended that if abstentions were counted as votes cast Curran would have failed to get the necessary two-thirds. Curran ruled the objections out of order.

The resolution goes to the membership for ratification.

NMU officials were silent when their sister union, the Canadian Seamen's Union, which has fought a gallant six-month strike, was quietly expelled by the Canadian Central Trades and Labor Federation on charges of being communist-dominated.

Chicago dateline

Labor peace congress Oct. 1-2 expected to attract 1,500

By Rod Holmgren

CHICAGO

SIXTEEN union leaders in Ohio sent a 150-word letter to President Truman last April 12, the anniversary of Franklin D. Roosevelt's death. They pleaded for an end to the cold war.

Bernard V. McGroarty of Local 22, AFL Stereotypers, sent copies to union members all over the country. The response was astonishing. He got 2,438 more signatures from 23 states. They represented millions of workers whose leaders were trying to brush aside criticism of the Marshall Plan, Atlantic Pact, arms for Europe.

LABOR FOR PEACE: A number of unionists in Chicago, agreeing that the boys from Ohio had something, set up an arrangements committee for a National Labor Conference for Peace. The date is Oct. 1-2. The place is Carmen's Hall, Ashland Auditorium, Chicago.

Jim Wishart, CIO Fur & Leather Workers' district research director, handling program arrangements, says at least 1,500 rank-and-filers will come. He points to a trainload of 250 from New York; a busload from Southern California and a planeload from San Francisco; an auto caravan of 250 from Michigan, another 200 from Ohio; at least 75 from Milwaukee; a chartered plane from Philadelphia.

Sam Curry, president of the big Armour local of CIO United Packinghouse Workers here, is arrangements chairman. He says: "Sure, there will be one or two big-name speakers. But the conference isn't for big-name unionists. This will be a rank-and-file meeting, from start to finish."

FRATERNITY: Vicente Lombardo Toledano, Latin-American labor leader, was slated to be a fraternal delegate. So was Michael Quatrepointe of the French General Confederation of Labor. But the State Department has denied a visa to Toledano and has taken no action on the Quatrepointe request. Protests are being pushed.

Henry Wallace will address a mass meeting in Chicago in connection with the conference Oct. 1. Paul Robeson will appear Oct. 2.

The delegates will have panels on unemployment and the cold war; on civil rights and the cold war; on how minorities have been hit; on how veterans and youth can weld a program for peace.

Song of racism

LENA HORNE has sung in Chicago bistros often. She got her first taste here of rising racism this week.

The singer led a party which included Reginald Goodwin, a businessman; William Goldbaum, owner of a cosmetics firm; Ralph Harris, her manager; Nolelia Kyle, her maid; and Mrs. Lillian Harper, wife of the Chicago **Defender** publisher, to Caruso's Restaurant on the North Side.

CARD CHECK: The manager asked Miss Horne: "Do you have a membership card?" She didn't, of course. Goodwin and Goldbaum had both been served the night before without membership cards.

LENA HORNE
Caruso sang like a crow

Miss Horne asked bluntly: "Do you discriminate?" The manager nodded. As he herded the party to the door, he repeated that nobody was seated without a membership card and reservation. Thirty people were dining in Caruso's, which has a capacity of 250.

Next day Attorney Luis Kutner filed a civil suit on Miss Horne's behalf, demanding the maximum $500 damages. Kutner also asked Mayor Kennelly to revoke Caruso's license and the State's Attorney to open an investigation aimed at criminal action.

THE CAMPAIGNS

THE November elections will mark the first anniversary of the Progressive Party as a national political organization. Across the country this year, candidates for offices ranging from U.S. Senator to local alderman are running under the Progressive banner.

In most areas the Party has entered only one or two candidates and is concentrating all its forces on them rather than spread its strength trying to elect all. This follows the political theory of concentration on which the Progressive Party is operating nationally.

Common to the platforms of all Progressive candidates is an emphasis on local manifestations of U.S. national and international policy. Spelled out, this means a fight for added low-cost public housing, continuation of rent control, increased unemployment compensation, maintenance of transit rates and the general issues that involve people in their day-to-day living.

The GUARDIAN, from now through the elections, will give its readers the fullest possible reports on the political situation wherever Progressive candidates are involved. Next week the full story of Vito Marcantonio's campaign for mayor of New York will be told.

NEW YORK

Red herrings fly in Brooklyn race

IN Brooklyn, U.S.A., breeding place of Murder, Inc., and scene of dozens of unpunished police assassinations and maimings of unoffending Negroes, Dean Edmund H. H. Caddy of New York Law School accepted the Republican nomination for district attorney against Democratic incumbent Miles McDonald.

Said Dean Caddy, viewing Miles McDonald's record of non-interference with Brooklyn's lynch-law cops:

"I regard the office of district attorney as . . . above political parties or privilege . . . the bulwark for the many against the lawless few.

"It is the duty of the district attorney's office to safeguard civil rights so that the people can work in peace and peaceably assemble, petition, picket and advocate their beliefs regardless of race, color or creed.

"I abhor anti-Semitism and jimcrowism. I abhor any and every effort to suppress the civil liberties of the people. . . ."

IT'S PERFIDIOUS! Republican Dean Caddy and the Kings County (Brooklyn) American Labor Party seemed made for each other. So the ALP offered and Dean Caddy took the ALP endorsement.

Not only Democrats, who now stand to lose to the ALP-Republican DA candidate in Brooklyn, but also Republicans hollered like stuck pigs over Dean Caddy's flouting of Republocrat decisions to snub ALP.

Doomed Democrat Miles McDonald ranted against "perfidious . . . secret deals." State Democratic chairman Paul Fitzpatrick demanded that Republicans repudiate Caddy. Republican senatorial candidate John Foster Dulles obligingly lamented "the fact that there are those so eager to win they accept un-American support."

PEOPLE'S PILLAR: Governor Dewey went the whole hog. He lumped the whole N.Y. state ALP vote of 509,000 in 1948 as "Communist and fellow traveler," twisted the situation into a condemnation of Democratic senatorial candidate Herbert Lehman because the ALP did not put a senatorial candidate in the field. (Coordination of Dewey-Dulles statements results from Dewey's sharing his press relations man, James C. Hagerty, with Dulles for the duration.)

Dean Caddy stood up sturdily against the storm.

HAVE YOU GOT FOUR FRIENDS?

See Report to Readers, P. 11

MASSACHUSETTS

It's O'Brien & jobs vs. Curley & Co.

UNEMPLOYMENT in Massachusetts hits one out of every eight workers; it is so bad that even Gov. Paul A. Dever has called it "critical."

This is the prime issue of the Progressive Party in the two election campaigns on which it is concentrating in the state: Walter A. O'Brien for mayor of Boston, and Cornelia M. Anderson for City Council in Worcester, the state's second largest industrial city.

O'Brien, state executive director of the Progressive Party, polled 53,000 votes in last November's rough campaign as a candidate for congressman-at-large on the Wallace ticket. This year he faces 11 rivals united on the cold war and differing only slightly on domestic issues. With this kind of opposition, he says: "Anything can happen."

TIMELESS JIM CURLEY: A hustling 34-year-old former port agent of the CIO American Communications Assn., O'Brien is a contrast to the shrewd 75-year-old incumbent, James Michael Curley, long known as the boss of Boston, who last week startled reporters with an announcement that he expects to be mayor until he's 125, a good half-century to go.

An old 5 per center

The incredible Curley—Time magazine once said that "as one-time mayor he helped himself to $30,000 of political graft"—was one of Washington's original five per centers. On Feb. 18, 1946, he was sentenced by a Federal Court to six to 18 months in prison in a $60,000 mail fraud case. He had been selling his "influence" to get war contracts for clients.

After five months in the Federal Correctional Institution in Danbury, Conn., President Truman commuted his sentence to time served. Two days later Curley was back at work as mayor; he collected his full salary for the time he was in prison.

Connie is confident

In Worcester the City Council will be elected by proportional representation for the first time this fall. Cornelia Anderson, Progressive Party chairman, is confident that she will poll the necessary 10% of the total vote for a place on the Council.

Of 155 candidates, she is the only one with a constructive program on the issue of unemployment, which has reached crisis proportions in the city. The Progressive Party is demanding a special session of the Legislature to increase jobless benefits to $30 a week for 52 weeks, with additional payments for dependents.

A LABOR GAL: Other planks in the Progressive platform include a demand for 2,000 low-rent public housing units, an end to police brutality against Negroes, and a return to the 10c bus fare.

Miss Anderon is a former editor and Educational Director for the Food, Tobacco Workers, CIO, research worker for the CIO Rubber Workers and director of women's work for Philadelphia PAC.

PENNSYLVANIA

Court set to rule on petition sham

IN last November's elections Progressive nominating petitions were thrown out by officials of Alleghany County, which includes Pittsburgh. They ruled that the PP was not a legal party in the state, and the petitions were therefore invalid.

This week a court ruling on the PP's legal action against the officials is expected. Zalman Garfield, Progressive Party state director, called the officials' action a political sham in view of the acceptance of identical petitions in Philadelphia and Reading.

CARRYING ON: Pennsylvania law requires that 2% of the state vote in the previous election must be won by a political party for state recognition, and 5% of the county vote for recognition as a legal party within a county.

Last November the Pennsylvania Progressive Party gained more than 2% of the state vote. In those counties where less than 5% was cast on the Progressive line, it filed nominating petitions this year. In all counties except Alleghany the petitions were accepted without question.

Confident of a favorable court ruling, Progressive Party workers continued campaigning for Charles Kerns, radio writer and county Progressive chairman, for mayor of Pittsburgh; and Alex Wright, Negro trade unionist, for City Council.

KENTUCKY

Lexington Moses

FOR the first time in the history of Lexington, Ky., a Negro workingman is running for the City Commission, with Progressive, liberal, white and Negro support.

Eugene Rice, for 20 years a Lexington resident, has been a coal miner in Kentucky and West Virginia, is a World War I veteran, and is currently employed as a hod carrier. He is vice president of the AFL local Hodcarriers Union and is a deacon of the Pilgrim Baptist Church. He has the backing of the local Progressive Party Club and of leading members of the NAACP, as well as liberal Democrats and Republicans.

In his own behalf, he says: "I give my earnest assurance that labor can feel fully satisfied of a fair voice at all times in City Hall proceedings if I am elected."

Lexington elections are Sept. 24.

Election in New Jersey

Convention sparks brisk drive for Imbrie and 37 Progressives

By Egon Pohoryles
GUARDIAN staff correspondent

NEWARK, N. J.

A HOUSE-TO-HOUSE, doorbell-ringing, county-by-county campaign to elect James Imbrie governor and a slate of 37 candidates to the State Assembly and local offices was planned last weekend at the second annual convention of the Progressive Party of New Jersey.

The presence of more than 200 enthusiastic delegates prompted state director Morton Bloom to declare: "All reports of our demise were premature indeed."

WHAT THEY WANT: A state platform adopted by the convention included these major planks: extension of state unemployment insurance; endorsement of the Brannan farm plan; establishment of a state ceiling price on milk; construction of a state medical school; modernization of the school system; immediate enactment of standby rent control legislation; and a $200,000,000 low-rent housing program.

A central issue in the campaign will be the fight to repeal the recently enacted Tumulty-Mehorter law which, among other things, requires all candidates for public office to take a loyalty oath. Progressive Party candidates in this election will have this parenthetical note attached to their names on the ballot: "This candidate refused to sign Loyalty Oath." Next year any candidate refusing to sign will be barred from the ballot.

JAMES IMBRIE
Let them stand proudly with us

THE ROAD'S END: Imbrie, as state chairman of the party, has challenged the law in the courts and an appeal from a recent adverse decision will be argued Oct. 4 in the Appellate Division of Superior Court.

Keynote address was made by civil liberties attorney O. John Rogge. "A successful Progressive Party," he said, "is the only thing between us and the end of the road—fascism." With the appointment of Tom Clark to the Supreme Court, he said, "it becomes more necessary than ever to build a Progressive Party."

Other speakers included Leo Isacson, former ALP Congressman from the Bronx; Johannes Steel, radio commentator; William A. Wallace, an Assembly candidate from Union County and chairman of the Welfare Committee of the Singer Strikers.

WHERE THEY STAND: Imbrie, 69-year-old retired investment banker who helped found the Progressive Party and who received more than 20,000 votes as candidate for the U. S. Senate in 1948, appealed for support from all labor and liberal groups, right and left wings both.

"We are the Progressive Party," he said, "not the Communist, the Republican or the Democratic Party. Furthermore, we are not controlled by any group, be it Communist, Democrat or Republican. But we have been fighting beside Communist leadership and we are proud to have stood and fought with them."

Imbrie plans an intensive campaign and is scheduled to speak at least once in each of Jersey's biggest counties. Henry A. Wallace will take the stump for him at a rally in Newark on Oct. 28.

WASHINGTON

CONGRESS WEEK

It's the accent

HOUSE members came back to their desks on Wednesday fresh from a month's vacation and eager to adjourn by Oct. 15.

Not long after the gavel pounded Rep. John Rankin (D-Miss.) rose to praise the Peekskill hoodlums and to attack Paul Robeson as a "nigger communist."

Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP-N.Y.) demanded the remark be stricken from the record. Quick-thinking House Speaker Sam Rayburn said he understood the gentleman from Mississippi had drawled the word "Negro." To reporters Rankin explained he spelled the word NEGRO but pronounced it "niggra."

WELFARE CHALLENGE: In another action the same day, Marcantonio introduced a bill to boost unemployment insurance payments to $35 a week for 52 weeks. President Truman, Mayor O'Dwyer of New York and others "like to talk about the welfare state," he said. He offered his bill as a "direct challenge" to them: "Let's see if they really mean it."

How much for arms?

On Thursday the Senate approved the bill which would spend 1,314,010,000 of the taxpayers' dollars to ship arms to anyone in the world who seemed anti-communist. The bill earmarked $75,000,000 for the rapidly diminishing "general area" of Nationalist China.

ERA OF BAD FEELING: The long debate had been dreary because the opposition fought not against the substance of the bill but only to pinch pennies. Authoritative New York **Times** correspondent James Reston reported: "It was a weary, divided and somewhat angry set of legislators and officials that looked over the results of the battle." The struggle over dollars and cents had broken bi-partisan bonds that had withstood all temptation to divide on principle.

The Senate bill will have to be reconciled with the House version which allots only $869,505,000 in arms aid.

CARSON IN FTC: The Senate confirmed the appointment of John Carson, former official of the Cooperative League, as member of Federal Trade Commission. Labor backed him. Republicans, led by Sen. Bricker (R-O.) attacked Carson. "Just a dreamer—a fuzzy thinker," said Bricker. Carson won 43-25.

CIVIL LIBERTIES

GEORGIA

Whites join Negroes in fight to vote

IN October, 1945, Georgia Judge T. Hoyt Davis ruled that the state's "white primary"—in which Negroes were turned away from polling places with a scoffing "You can't vote!"—was unconstitutional. The U.S. Supreme Court upheld the ruling. But in his successful campaign for governor in 1948, Herman Talmadge shouted that if he couldn't have an all-white election, he wanted one "just as white as we can get it."

A Voter Re-Registration Law, his No. 1 bill in the state legislature, threw out the state's old list of 1,200,000 registered voters, including 120,000 Negroes, and set up new and stiffer requirements for registration, openly aimed against Negroes. Under it, a citizen can qualify only if he can read "intelligibly" or write "legibly" any section of the U.S. Constitution. Failing that, he must answer correctly any 10 of 30 listed questions.

THREAT TO ALL: Leading citizens of Georgia and some of the state's top lawyers challenged the legislation. A new interracial organization known as the Southern Church Women, pledged to work for full equality before the law, denounced it as a "threat to the security of all the voters of Georgia." It was taken to the State Supreme Court.

Balance of power

Before a ruling could be made, another primary election was held in Atlanta; even under the new law some 22,000 Negroes had qualified to vote. Forty per cent of them went to the polls and discovered that they represented the balance of power in the city.

For the first time in modern history they had exercised this elementary right of citizenship. "There were smiles of gratification and civic pride," wrote William A. Fowlkes, managing editor of the Atlanta **Daily World**, influential Negro newspaper.

NEW ERA: Last week the Georgia Supreme Court unanimously upheld Talmadge's new registration law. Now it will be taken to the U.S. Supreme Court.

But a new militancy was apparent in many sections of Dixie. J. J. Thomas president of the Alabama Negro Voters and Veterans Assn., announced large gains in membership and said Negroes were intensifying their efforts to become registered voters.

The Atlanta Negro Voters League emerged as one of the city's most potent political forces.

U.S. newspapers generally belittled or ignored these developments. But down South it was recognized that an ancient pattern had been fundamentally changed. Politics in at least two states would never be quite the same again.

PEEKSKILL RIOTS

New incitements as Robeson plans tour

PEEKSKILL simmered in the aftermath of the riots. A grand jury indicted six rioters, including the son of Peekskill's chief of police. Five more had pleaded guilty and taken light sentences from the lower courts. No others had been arrested.

District Attorney George M. Fanelli was preparing to present a case to the October Grand Jury which, according to Dewey's instructions, is to inquire into the motives of the victims of the riots.

Jewish storekeepers were struggling against a boycott. On the street corners braggadocio mixed now with a little shame, a little fear.

And on Oct. 10, the Freedom Train was to arrive in Peekskill.

REPENT: In 13 churches ministers had called their congregations to repentance for the violence. The Council of Christian Clergymen in the area published a joint letter denouncing a veterans' parade scheduled for Oct. 2. The veterans, growing hesitant, said they would forego parades until Armistice Day, Nov. 11.

From coast . . .

Four hundred demonstrators paraded to the N.Y. state capitol in Albany to protest Dewey's whitewash. Dewey was not in. An assistant heard their protests in silence. O. John Rogge was the spokesman.

Hoodlums gathered, booed, yelled and threw one tomato wide of the mark. Some eggs were tossed from scaffolding on top of the State Capitol but splattered harmlessly behind police lines. Amid the catcalls the delegation stood on the capitol steps and sang. And soon the catcalls stopped. The spokesmen talked to the citizens of Albany, if not to the Governor.

> **Munich-Peekskill**
>
> A protest meeting—"The Tale of Two Cities, Munich-Peekskill"—will be held Thursday evening, Sept. 29, at Town Hall, New York. Sponsors are the American Committee of Jewish Writers, Artists and Scientists, and several other progressive Jewish organizations. There will be a message from Henry Wallace.
>
> Tickets are available at the committee offices, Room 414, 103 Park Av.

. . . to coast

Paul Robeson, storm-center of the riots, was preparing for a nationwide tour. On Sept. 30 he was to sing at Wrigley Field, Los Angeles, to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the **California Eagle**, second oldest Negro newspaper in the country.

ASSORTED ROCK: In San Francisco, Joe Louis pounded a big fist into a huge palm and told newsmen: "The

West Coast wire

One in 11 jobless—'Let 'em eat confidence,' Giannini says

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

PACIFIC Coast unemployment, second greatest of any section of the nation (one in 11 workers is jobless), brought from the world's top banker last week a pledge that he will spend $1,000,000 in an advertising campaign to "restore confidence."

While surveys indicated that unemployment is almost as acute as in New England and rising, L. M. Giannini, president of the Bank of America, held a press conference. He said he had just finished a tour of the country, found the economic structure solid, the Marshall Plan a success and worry about depression nonsense.

"That's why we are launching our 'Buy Now' program," he said.

Giannini said the $1,000,000 "campaign of confidence" will be conducted mainly in newspapers and that he will augment it in a personal letter to 4,000 manufacturers.

REVIVAL: As he spoke, the Los Angeles Unemployed Council was being dusted off for business by unions in the harbor, where thousands are jobless. Unemployment in Los Angeles industries is estimated as high as 314,800.

In San Francisco, latest monthly statistics showed 45,800 out of work, a 65% increase in the jobless figure of over a year ago. Union leaders, AFL, CIO and independent, in Oakland and other cities of Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, across the bay from San Francisco, estimated 35,500 unemployed.

Portland told a similar story and progressive groups there were uniting to defend the rights of those applying for public assistance. Seattle reported the job situation twice as bad as a year ago, and this percentage was reflected through the state in the numbers applying for unemployment insurance.

Winner loses all

NEXT time somebody wakes up Dr. Earle Brod and his wife, Mary, to tell them they've just won a $12,500 model home, that disillusioned couple intends to roll right over and go back to sleep.

At 11 p.m. last June 12, a sheriff's car with sirens screaming shrilled up to their door in sunny El Monte with the glad tidings that the Brods had won the model house at the Pan-Pacific Home Exposition in nearby Los Angeles.

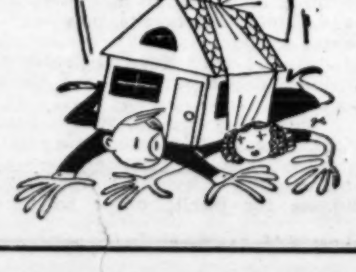
That's the way the trouble started. Dr. Brod, an optometrist, and his patient wife haven't had a wink of untroubled sleep since.

Catch was that the house had to be moved by them—at their own expense—from the exposition grounds. And it was a brick house.

They bought an inflated lot for $3,500. The moving company charged $3,600. Other thousands went for foundation, plumbing, walks, sewers, grading, landscaping, garage and aspirin. Altogether, their $12,500 brick "gift" house had cost them $10,000.

Then the man told them what the income and property tax on the "gift" house would be.

"We put it on the market to get our money back," explained Mrs. Brod. "We simply can't afford such a nightmare. Besides, we like it better in El Monte."



Them's some apples

FARMERS and labor got together in the apple-growing country of Northern California last week and tested a co-operative marketing method that made everybody happy but the canneries and chain buyers.

Appalled by retail price levels, consumers had stopped buying apples to an extent that caused canneries and chain stores to chop the orchardists off with huge surpluses on their hands and not even the vinegar works bidding.

Distraught smaller ranchers in Sonoma County successfully pressured the growers' association to ease its price-prop ceiling on how many cases of apples a farmer could sell each day—a rule that kept prices up and also worked to the ultimate benefit of canners and by-product plants.

SHOPGATE MARKET: Then the farmers joined with leaders of CIO and AFL unions and worked out a farm-to-shopgate marketing system to dispose of their surplus directly to union men at prices they could afford.

Ruddy-faced farmers with even ruddier truckloads of huge Gravensteins lumbered to plant gates in cities throughout Northern California.

At the end of ten days they had sold 70 tons of apples at $80 a ton, compared with $20 received from canners and $6 to $9 offered by by-product plants. Workers got fancy fruit at 4c a pound.

Sponsors said the system may soon be applied to disposition of other farm products.

THE PEEKSKILL PROTEST MARCH IN ALBANY
Mr. Dewey was busy with other things

The deadly parallel

Once there were two Jews—and they lived in Peekskill

By Anne Samberg

Reporting the Peekskill riots, the GUARDIAN drew the "deadly parallel" with the rise of Nazism in Germany. The interview below, by freelance newspaperwoman Anne Samberg, with two American Jews in Peekskill extends the parallel. Isadore Goldsand, 50, insurance agent, had just canceled $28,000 worth of insurance on the former Hollowbrook Golf Club where the second Robeson riot occurred. Stephen Szego is owner of the grounds. To him, what happened is familiar.

In Germany during Hitler's rise and first years in power, Jews who were 150 per cent German patriots believed Hitler wasn't after them, only after the "bad" Jews, Poles and Communists. They were known as "Naumannianer" (from the name of Friedrich Naumann, journalist head of the German-Jewish Assn.). Some believed it so much that they supported Hitler or the extreme Right. Some went on believing it until the day they were led, stripped even of their clothing, into gas chambers.

ISADORE GOLDSAND

Q. What about the name-calling? The rock-throwers kept yelling "dirty Jew," "kike" and similar epithets.

A. Not a word of that is true. Peekskill is a friendly town. The Jews have never had any trouble here, and I should know because I'm an orthodox Jew and I've lived here all my life.

Q. Are you saying there has never been anti-Semitism in Peekskill in spite of what happened last Sunday?

A. That's right. The Jews know their place here. We don't bother them [the Gentiles] and they don't bother us.

Q. I understand the Jewish War Veterans marched in the demonstration last Sunday.

A. That's right. Commander Aaronson was against it but we marched anyway. They came and asked us: "Are you with us or against us?" What could we do? So we marched.

Q. Do you mean you were forced to march?

A. Just say we marched.

Q. I understand you have just cancelled the insurance on the Hollowbrook property?

A. I have a legal right to cancel any policy at any time.

Q. Why did you cancel now?

A. It's like I just told you. I have a right to. I'm a businessman, see. That house has been threatened by arsonists three times already.

Q. That leaves him without insurance, is that right?

A. That's right. But we gave him five day's notice. That's what he's entitled to.

Q. I read that the police are guarding the place.

A. That doesn't mean anything. Somebody's going to try to burn that place down again.

STEPHEN SZEGO

Q. How long have you lived here?

A. I came here from Germany in 1934. I came here to escape from Hitler and the Nazis. Look what has happened to me now.

Q. I hear your insurance policies were just cancelled.

A. Yes, and now I'm left without any protection. I've had trouble all week. The hoodlums have been here at night three times trying to burn down the house and once they came around with rifles and shot six bullet holes into the side of the house.

Q. Did you speak to Goldsand about the insurance policies?

A. Yes, I certainly did. He said that he didn't give a damn about the property, that he was cancelling the policies and that was all there was to it. He was very nasty about it. He called me all kinds of names and used the foulest language. He said I made it bad for the other Jews by renting my place for the concert.

Q. Why did you decide to go ahead with the concert? Were you in sympathy with Robeson and his group?

A. No, I was never in sympathy with Robeson, but when they came and told me they wanted to hold a concert, I believed they had a right to do so. I came to this country because I believed it was a real democracy.

Q. Do you regret having rented the property for the concert?

A. No, I do not regret it. What happened here last Sunday is just like it was in Germany. I saw rock-throwing by the same types of gangs in Germany. I am appalled that this should happen in America.

Q. If things get very bad do you think you will try to sell the place and leave?

A. No, I will not leave. Where can I go? I will stay right here and defend my rights.

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people who throw rocks—they're what's wrong with this country—wrong, wrong, wrong."

But Lloyd G. Davies, Los Angeles City Councilman from Hollywood said of the stonethrowers: "I applaud and commend those people. . . . I'd be inclined to be down there throwing rocks myself." The Council urged Angelenos to stay away.

The Long Beach **Independent** said in a front page editorial that it was too bad Robeson and his listeners hadn't "all been slugged and jugged." The **Times** and **Mirror** also editorialized bitterly against the concert. Hollywood gossip commentators Jimmie Fidler and Louella Parsons shrilly echoed the editorials.

Nevertheless, ticket sales boomed. The Negro Elks and the NAACP were rallying their members to attend. The American Veterans Committee promised Robeson an honor guard.

ST. LOUIS

Road to Auschwitz

JEWS are not considered as "White Americans" in the new criminal identification system adopted by the St. Louis, Mo. police. International Business Machine (IBM) punch cards will be perforated on line 2 for Jews and line 5 for "white Americans." The system was developed with the approval and cooperation of the FBI which calls it the "most progressive" in the country.

THE COMMUNIST TRIAL

The twelve rest

ON FRIDAY, at the U.S. Courthouse in Foley Square, Henry Winston stepped down from the witness stand. The Communist Party's organizational secretary had been the 48th witness in the trial which began last Jan. 17.

"The defense rests." The words signaled the end of a major phase of the legal fight by the 12 Communist leaders. The government has charged them with conspiring to teach and advocate—not commit—overthrow by force and violence. The defense has contended that the charge is unconstitutional, the jury biased, the case groundless.

SUM UP OCT. 4: Judge Harold R. Medina ordered the attorneys to sum up their cases Oct. 4.

The government had used 37 days to present 13 witnesses, seven of whom were FBI informants. The defense had taken 82 days, with 35 witnesses, including the defendants.

THE ECONOMY

Incomes down—farmers will march

THE nation's farm income from January through July was down $1,413,000,000 from the figure set for the same seven-month period last year. Hardest

hit in the lowered returns was the 12-state midwestern farming region. Fifteen states showed small increases in farm income, but they were not enough to offset the downward trend.

The figures were released last week by the Department of Agriculture. They put more steam in National Farmers Union plans to send a caravan of 1,000 members to Washington, to work for passage of the Brannan farm program.

IT EDUCATES: James Patton, Farmers Union president, said "the dilatory action of Congress" and "the shifting, indecisive and downright reactionary position of other farm organizations" were the reasons for the farmers' march on Washington.

Earlier this year the Farmers Union sent 800 members to Washington on a lobbying expedition, That one "did a lot of educating both at home and in legislative halls," Patton said.

MONOPOLIES

A & P hot spot

THE A & P is to food shoppers what Ford is to motorists. Its 6,000 stores and super-markets account annually for about $2,000,000,000 in retail sales. To the U.S. Justice Department's anti-trust division, the Great Atlantic & Pacific Tea Co. is monopolistic enough to warrant a legal break-up of its buying, selling, manufacturing and processing enterprises.

Last February Federal Judge Sherman Minton, now appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, upheld a 1944 conviction of A & P for using illegal business methods to reduce competition. The company paid $175,000 in fines.

FOLLOW-UP: Now the government has followed up with a suit under the Sherman anti-trust act, to dissolve what it calls a monopoly in restraint of trade.

Among other things, the U.S. charges A & P:

- Used its own manufacturing and processing plants to give affiliates lower prices than those paid by competitors.
- Forced food suppliers to maintain a low price list for A & P affiliates, a higher one for competitors.
- Used its own buying company to control large parts of fresh fruit and vegetable crops to the disadvantage of competitors.

A & P went before the public with big newspaper ads headlined: "Do You Want Your A & P Put Out Of Business?"

Other A & P specials

- A & P heir Huntington Hartford III last week caused Marjorie Steele to feel "just like Cinderella" by making her quit as cigarette girl at a Hollywood night club to marry him. She said: "He gave me a big tip. I thought he was very shy and modest and good-looking. He's very interested in art."
- In New York, a Bronx American

(Continued on following page)

HAVE YOU GOT FOUR FRIENDS?

See Report to Readers, P. 11

(Continued from preceding page)

Labor Party rally heard denunciations of the neighborhood A & P store for refusing to employ Negroes. A picketing and letter-writing campaign was organized against the company.

THE AUBURN STORY

Harvester offers to sell plant for $1

FOR three months the people of the city of Auburn, N. Y., have battled a decision of the International Harvester Co. to shut down its Auburn plant by Nov. 1, 1950 — a move that would leave 1,800 workers stranded and turn Auburn itself into a ghost town.

But not all the town was united on the issue; powerful local interests, for reasons of their own, would be glad to see Harvester go.

Last week Harvester management had a gimmick for taking advantage of this rift: for the sum of $1 it offered to turn over the entire Auburn plant "to some properly constituted body."

The Auburn **Citizen-Advertiser** noted that the city and county would lose $35,000 a year in taxes.

NOTHING DOING: The Joint Emergency Committee of International Harvester Workers which, with three Auburn locals of the CIO Farm Equipment Workers Union, has been leading the fight to save the plant, rejected the offer.

Behind Harvester's original decision to abandon its plant, the union charges, is the company's acquisition from the federal government, at ridiculously low cost, of four modern plants built with tax-payers' money. The union is demanding government intervention to prevent the removal.

INDIANA

No peace, no taxes

KATSUKI JAMES OTSUKA, a student at Earlham College, Richmond, Ind., refused to pay $4.50 in income taxes because, he said, the major part of the U.S. budget is devoted to war. In a letter to tax authorities, he said he followed the example set by "Jesus and his followers, Buddha, Socrates, and others, and in modern times by Gandhi."

On Sept. 1 Federal District Judge the fine money be used for, Otsuka

90 days and a fine of $100. What would the fine money be used for, Oasuka asked. Judge Balzell said he didn't know. "Then I will have to refuse to pay it," said Otsuka.

Otsuka is in jail. His prison sentence will be lengthened because he refused to pay the fine.

In many places throughout the country, others have followed Otsuka's lead. So far 70 people have decided to withhold taxes, preferring to go to jail rather than support the war program. They are members of the Tax Refusal Committee of Peacemakers, a pacifist movement.

One up, one down

JOE RYAN of the AFL International Longshoremen's Assn. agreed to cut his wage demands from 22c to 12c. The employers agreed to abandon their demand for a wage cut. "We've both come a long way," said Ryan.

Conversation in Nebraska

What makes a depression? Father and son disagree

By Ralph Friedman

HOLDREGE, NEBRASKA

TWO men stepped off the highway and stopped by the sycamore, at the edge of the dirt farmroad, where we had spread our lunch.

"Havin' a bite, are you?" the older man greeted.

"Yes," replied Phoebe, "won't you join us?"

"Thanks anyway," said the younger man. "Dad and I ate a little bit ago at the neighbors'."

His father nodded briefly, pushed his hat back. His wrist glistened with sweat. It was a hot day and he had been walking in the open sun. "Could use some rain," he said, half-talking to himself. "Been a long dry spell."

"Hot and dry," his son said.

PHOEBE held up a cup of water. "Anybody want a drink?"

Both men smiled politely and shook their heads.

"See you got an Illinois license," the old man said. "Goin' far?"

"California," I replied, "to live."

The old man frowned. "Don'cha know when you're well off? Everybody out here that went to California is comin' back. You stand on this road fer an hour an' you see four, five California cars headin' east. Comin' east in droves. No work out there. Breadlines out there, lots of 'em."

"How's it in this part of Nebraska?" I asked.

The young man shrugged his shoulders and started to speak but his Dad beat him to it. "Not so good, not so bad," he said. "Farmers not gonna do as good as last year or the year before. Cities always get hit first."

"We think a depression is on its way—in a hurry," Phoebe said. "What do you think about it?"

"'Course it's comin'," the old man answered, squatting. His son squatted beside him. "But time for one. Got to have one."

"Do you like depressions?" Phoebe asked.

"'Course not!" he exclaimed, a sting in his voice. "But they come, like the change o' the moon. Nobody likes it. but nobody benefits."

PHOEBE put down her sandwich. "Maybe nobody likes it but the big companies and corporations don't suffer. They don't start passing out the big profits they made to keep their laid-off workers working and eating."

"Things always been that way and always will be," the old man said doggedly. "It's a law of nature."

Phoebe smiled sweetly. "Nature didn't make banks that foreclosed on the farmers last depression and will this depression. Man made that kind of set-up and man can think of ways to eliminate depressions."

"Never!" the old man snapped.

"Why not?" his son asked. "A good idea's always worth a try. A plan that goes wrong got something wrong with it, like dead roots." He reached out and touched the tree.

The old man said: "You're too young fer fancy talk."

His son arose and faced his father. "I was old enough to get V-Mail from you five years ago!" he replied.

"NOT to change the subject," I said, "but what do you folks think about all this war talk going on in the papers?"

The old man pointed his thumb at the farm. "Rain 'n' prices is enough of a headache. Got to be a long time before we begin talkin' war."

"A long time," his son said.

EDUCATION

NEW YORK

Feinberg: "go slow"

THE lines pro and con the Feinberg Law were evident in New York's Supreme Court. On one side were the American Legion and the Board of Education; on the other, the CIO Teachers Union, the National Lawyers Guild, and 39 teachers, tax payers, students and parents. In addition, 500 others presented affidavits to Judge Murray Hearn in opposition to the law, designed to purge "un-American" teachers by means of a "loyalty test."

Judge Hearn said the gravity of the constitutional issues involved made it important to go slow in applying the law. He asked the Board of Education to agree to the CIO-TU's demand for a temporary stay. Attorneys for the Board hurried back to consult with Board members. A decision is expected shortly.

In California it was announced that half of the University of California staff refused to sign the "loyalty oath" demanded by the Board of Regents. 700 faculty members asked the Board to rescind it.

RELIGION

WORLD COUNCIL

No politics, please

LAST summer in Amsterdam the World Council of Churches (Protestant) held its annual meeting. Among the applicants for admission as an observer was Myron C. Taylor, funereal-looking former head of U.S. Steel, for many years the President's personal representative at the Vatican (the U.S. has no official diplomatic ties with the Holy See).

Taylor said he wanted to come as an observer for the President—and as the liaison man with the Council for the Pope. There were dignified liftings of eyebrows and discreet conferences. Taylor was turned down on the ground that the Council regards itself as a religious, not a political organizaation. He rumbled that there was religious discrimination.

NO DOUBT UNINTENTIONAL: Last week the GUARDIAN learned that two leading Protestants, Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, Lutheran, had issued a statement to correct "Mr. Taylor's probably unintentional implication that the World Council kept Roman Catholic observers out of Amsterdam." They said:

"Mr. Taylor presented absolutely no evidence of his assumed authority to speak for the Pope, and even had he done so, the World Council officials would not have been able to regard a representative of any political government as one with whom such matters could be discussed on any but a purely informal basis."

Canard Enchaine, Paris

"Well, and how soon shall we celebrate your first excommunion?"

FEDERAL COUNCIL

No entanglement

JOHN FOSTER DULLES, Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate seat he now holds from New York, honored the traditional American separation of church and politics last week by resigning his official post in the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. He was succeeded "temporarily" by the Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Missouri, a staunch liberal who defends the right of pastors (Dr. John Howard Melish and his son, of Brooklyn, for example) to preach as they believe.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Bread and church

PREMIER Antonin Zapatocky informed Czechoslovaks last week that on Oct. 1 bread, flour and potatoes will come off the ration list. This fact was buried under foreign press speculation about priests allegedly arrested in the church-state controversy.

The only known fact was that Dr. Frantisek Onderik, an apostolic administrator, had approved the government's proposed church law, thus breaking the Roman Catholic hierarchy's opposition front.

Hearst: Papal Count

FOR "contributions to the arts, humanitarian and other cultural

aids," publisher William Randolph Hearst is to receive the Vatican awards of Papal Count, the Lateran Cross and the Knight of St. Sylvester, first class. The arts and cultural aids were not specified.

SPORTS

Tennis: skin game

THE Municipal Park in Baltimore, Md., has tennis courts and an "unwritten rule" which says whites and Negroes must not play on them together. The Progressive Party challenged this rule last spring when Harold Buchman, PP state director, and several members of Young Progressives of America played tennis with their Negro friends.

The police arrested 23 people and charged them with "conspiracy to riot." Seven—all white—were convicted and received sentences ranging from three to 18 months. Buchman received the longest sentence.

An appeal has been carried to the Court of Appeals which may begin formal hearings in November. Last week, attorneys for the state filed briefs contending that the Park Board's rule is "entirely proper and valid."

More J. Edgar

THE FBI's wartime anti-sabotage, anti-subversive squad is back in operation. Hugh H. Clegg, assistant director of the FBI, told a meeting of police chiefs at Dallas: "The order putting the machinery into operation was issued about eight months ago." Clegg did not say what war was on, what sabotage he feared, who was subverting what.

THE WORLD

The devalued pound: British people are latest victims of the cold war

ON Sept. 19 Britons heard from Chancellor of the Exchequer Sir Stafford Cripps that the 4½ penny loaf of bread would henceforth cost sixpence. To British housewives with large families who commonly buy three to four loaves a day this meant a three shilling sixpence increase in the weekly food bill. Reason for the jump in the price of bread was the devaluation of the pound from $4.03 to $2.80. In workmen's pubs, in the clubs along Pall Mall where businessmen meet for lunch, ran a common fear: that prices of all essentials of life would soar. Biscuits, cookies and cake, staples of the Englishman's tea and supper, were due for an early rise.

CHEAPER CASHMERE: Well-to-do New Yorkers were visioning dropping into Brooks Brothers to order a suit of British woolens for $75 instead of $100; in San Francisco, stopping at Leibes to get Scottish cashmere sweaters at a 25% reduction.

But in Britain, according to U.S. press reports, "worker unrest which had been smoldering for months flamed into open revolt against the wage freeze policy of the Attlee government." The London Stock Exchange "dissolved into frenzy" and closed as prices of stocks and bonds spiraled. Out in Throgmorton Street stocks sold for one price at one end of the street and for different prices at the other end.

Labor rumblings

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress called a special session to discuss devaluation. The extraordinary length of the meeting—four hours—indicated, said the New York **Times**, "hot dissension." At its end, the Council announced it "could not pass judgment on the necessity of devaluation."

Five million British trade unionists were demanding wage increases and 3,500,000 were threatening to strike to get them. Labor leaders feared that with devaluation the rank and file of labor would "get out of hand."

Cripps promised to meet with TUC leaders. Everywhere in England people were asking him to explain. Parliament was summoned to reconvene Sept. 27 to hear an explanation.

The devaluation debate was certain to be stormy but few doubted that the government would survive. Sensing that time would not improve the effects of devaluation or the mood of the electorate, Labor Party leaders talked of calling an election in November rather than waiting for next summer when one is due.

British press reaction was cool to icy. Lord Beaverbrook's **Daily Express** declared: "We need not have given ourselves over to the domination of Wall St."

Pravda, Moscow

Wall Street Barber Shop

Daily Express, London

"Dear Lady Littlehampton, HOW can I make it clear to you that even if the pound IS devalued, your overdraft will remain, practically speaking, just as large as ever?"

THE ANALYSIS

Pound foolish

WHEN Cripps arrived in the U.S. for dollar talks early this month, he told newsmen that Britain would under no circumstances devalue the pound. Even before he spoke the Labor Government's decision to devalue had been taken. Announcement was postponed until conclusion of the annual conference of the British Trades Union Congress; knowledge of it could have produced a TUC revolt.

Cripps' radio announcement set off a chain reaction in the capitalist world. Twenty-two nations followed suit in three days and more are expected to act soon.

Cripps argued that the move was necessary to stimulate British exports to earn more dollars and thus solve Britain's dollar crisis. This looked like hocus pocus. Devaluation cannot earn Britain more dollars. Britain must step up exports enormously to earn with the $2.80 pound the same amount of dollars she earned with the $4 pound.

Economist's-eye view

This was the way economists looked at the situation:

Automobiles are one export item on which Britain most depends for dollar earnings. A British motor car which sold here before devaluation at $1,200 will now sell at $840. That means selling 1½ cars now to earn the same amount of dollars formerly received for one.

But Britain's problem is not to earn the same amount of dollars, but more dollars. To do that she will have to up car sales here a lot higher than the 50% required just to maintain her dollar-earning position before devaluation.

NO CAN DO: Such an increase of British sales here, of cars or other items, is impossible for these reasons:

1. Britain doesn't have the productive capacity to expand exports to this extent. Her industrial plant is already fully employed.

2. To maintain the $840 price tag on the British car requires that British workers produce at reduced wages 1½ cars where they turned out one before, just to keep Britain in its present dollar position. To increase Britain's dollar earnings, they would have to turn out at least two cars for the one produced before: a 100% speedup.

For the workers, devaluation means a big cut in real wages since it puts higher price tags on food and other essentials which Britain imports. It is unlikely that the Labor government can enforce the terrific speedup and cut in real wages required by this program.

3. Britain must buy abroad the steel for its cars, the wool for its textiles, the grain to make its whiskey. It takes more $2.80 pounds than $4 pounds to buy these raw materials. The price of British manufactured goods will therefore inevitably rise and wipe out the price cuts secured by devaluation.

4. Even if Britain could maintain the 30% export price cut envisaged by Sir Stafford, British goods would not be competitive with American in U.S. markets. The outworn plants of Birmingham, London and Manchester cannot, even in a seller's market, compete with Detroit, Pittsburgh and Chicago. In the growing buyer's market produced by the developing U.S. economic crisis, Britain will be unable to sell here at any price.

Dumpers out-dumped

Devaluation will not make British goods competitive with the U.S. in world markets where the U.S. and Western Germany are already underselling her exports. Devaluation is essentially a dumping technique powered by wage cuts. But when it comes to dumping, the cut-rate pound is no match for the enormous profits and tremendous capacity of the U.S. monopolies. And Western Germany's wages are half those of Britain's.

Nor will devaluation help Britain in relation to non-American competition in world markets since many other countries have also cheapened their currencies.

FRIGID BANKRUPTCY: The Labor government should know, if it doesn't, that devaluation will not solve Britain's dollar crisis. The cold war has bankrupted Britain. Her only solution is to end the cold war. Britain's problem is to re-equip its industries, expand its trade with all nations, stop squandering funds on armaments.

By adherence to the Marshall Plan-Atlantic Pact policy, Britain has been prevented from modernizing its industries, restricted to the shrinking markets of the capitalist world, burdened with huge armaments expenditures. If Britain would use only a fraction of the four billion dollars a year it spends on armaments to set up trade credits for the new China, the Soviet Union and eastern Europe, it could raise the living standards of its people, modernize its industrial plants and proclaim a Declaration of Independence from the U.S.

HAVE YOU GOT FOUR FRIENDS?

See Report to Readers, P. 11

Max Werner

It'll take more than money to bail Britain out now

DEVALUATION of the British pound has changed little in the wave of frustration left after the Washington conferences. "The search for a 'permanent equilibrium' between U.S. imports and exports is vain," says **Time.** ". . . Devaluation of the pound . . . will not cure the basic unbalance of trade between the U.S. and the rest of the world."

Now it seems clear to almost everybody that the British crisis has reached a degree at which no monetary manipulation can bring lasting relief.

PANTS PRESSURE: In Washington Sir Stafford Cripps—himself a sincere pacifist who never gave open suppost to Ernest Bevin's course—tied British economic recovery to military strategy and the strategy of the cold war.

But there is no such thing as rational economics of a cold war. In **This Week** Don Doolaard sketched its demands quite adequately:

> If America would like to prevent the British from swapping their superfluous pants for Russian grain, it should face the truth: A cold war cannot be waged cheaply. America must be prepared to gird its allies for the duration with a succession of Marshall Plans.

ONE THING AFTER ANOTHER: The economics of cold war operates with sudsidies and lend lease—or it does not work at all.

For the demands of the cold war are insatiable. First the Truman Doctrine was not enough, it had to be bolstered by the Marshall Plan. Then the Marshall Plan had to be strengthened by the Atlantic Pact. After that, the Military Aid Program. Now the special aid to Britain has to support the Military Aid Program. And when these are carried out, it will appear that military security must be again revised upward.

If hitched to the cold war, British economy will be undermined. The main contradiction of our own economic policy still remains unsolved. The U.S. exerts new pressure to speed up British exports to the U.S., while still giving priority to American exports to Britain.

In the conditions of the British loan and in the Marshall Plan itself, American exports to Britain are specially protected, thus artificially inflating British imports. In other words, our foreign economic policy gave dollars to Britain and squeezed them from her.

FEAR VS. LUST: Meantime British Conservatives appeal to the U.S. against the economic policies of the Labor government. But the British Conservatives have at the same time a lust for power and fear of power. "We are glad we are not in power now. Were we in power, England would already have had two general strikes," I heard three years ago in London from Churchill's first lieutenant in the Conservative Party.

Today some Conservatives believe Cripps could take over MacDonald's role in the crisis of 1931 as head of a coalition cabinet. Yet this time Great Britain has no resources left to survive a new Baldwin-MacDonald era.

ATOMIC KNOW-HOW

Truman's bombshell

ON THURSDAY the world of the generals stood intact. The U.S. nestled in the shadow of a stockpile of atom bombs and called the turns. On Friday the President told the world:

"We have evidence that within recent weeks an atomic explosion occurred in the U.S.S.R."

Out of Washington came reports of "quiet consternation." Sen. Kenneth Wherry (R-Neb.) called on the nation to man its aerial defenses.

But there were indications that a calmer course might prevail. Scientists have repeatedly declared that there are few secrets about atomic fission and that even these cannot long remain a secret.

THAW IN COLD WAR: In the recent weeks to which the President referred, business minds must have given long thought to the vanishing dream of an atom-bomb monopoly.

(Continued on following page)

(Continued from preceding page)

On the very day the President made his announcement the New York **Times** reported that the Dept. of Commerce had approved for immediate export to Russia $500,000 worth of oil field machinery. The U.S. banned shipments of industrial goods to Eastern Europe last March. The **Times**, which frequently floats trial balloons for the State Dept., said:

"Coupled with the easing of political tension between the western nations and Russia, the lifting of embargoes on industrial goods needed by Russia will be reflected not only here but also in Britain and European countries which now are unable to sell certain types of goods to Russia because of the Marshall Plan's restrictions."

UNUSUALLY CHEERFUL: The paper admitted that Britain had been "compelled to suspend" recent trade negotiations with Russia because Russia wanted machinery which "this country said should not be shipped behind the Iron Curtain."

The chastened mood on the commercial front was reflected on the diplomatic level. At Lake Success, where the UN Assembly convened, the U.S. delegation behaved cordially and cheerfully, though few observers knew the bombshell that lay behind the delegates' demeanor.

VISHINSKY TALKS PEACE: Andrei Vishinsky of the Soviet Union was more than cordial. Within a few hours after Truman's announcement, he urged three positive measures to safeguard peace:

- Unconditional UN prohibition of atomic weapons and rigid international control.
- A five-power pact (U.S., Russia, Britain, France and China) to insure peace.
- UN condemnation of war and preparations for war.

UNITED NATIONS

Yugoslavs apart; Chiang is worried

THE fourth session of the General Assembly opened last Wednesday. Gen. Carlos Romulo of the Philippines was elected president and immediately whipped the delegates into business with unprecedented speed.

CARLOS P. ROMULO
Off to a fast start

Attention turned toward the Yugoslavs when procedural voting began. How would their ballots reflect the Tito-Cominform fight? In seven tests, Yugoslavia voted with the Cominform countries four times, against them twice, and abstained once. Most Yugoslav divergencies occurred during consideration of Assembly officers and a report of the International Law Commission.

FIRST ROUND: A more significant break came when Yugoslavia's Ales Bebler announced abstention on the investigation of alleged violations of human rights in Hungary, Bulgaria and Rumania, saying those countries had violated treaties with Yugoslavia. Dmitri Manuilsky of the Ukraine charged that Bebler's statement was designed to "camouflage the unfriendliness of his country to the people's republics."

Not long after that, however, Yugoslavia stood with the Cominform countries in opposing inclusion on the agenda of the war in Greece, division of Korea, the Little Assembly, and formation of a UN guard force. They lost.

POISON IN THE POT: Speaking on Greece, Andrei Vishinsky of the Soviet Union referred to the issue as a perennial boiling pot, "each year more spicy." Alexis Kyrou, Greek delegate, interjected: "Not spices, but imported poison." To which Juliusz Katz-Suchy of Poland retorted: "How was the poison imported? Under the Truman Doctrine or the Marshall Plan?"

Chiang's jitters

Nationalist China's delegates were jittery. Communist China had proclaimed itself a people's republic and was clearly preparing to demand a UN voice.

On Thursday the Nationalist delegate, Dr. Tsiang, begged the Assembly to help defeat the Communists. He compared the fight against Chiang Kai-shek to Japanese aggression, but studiously avoided any reference to the new people's republic.

SMALL BUT BIG: Ignored but highly significant was the attack on big power politics by Faiez el Khouri, young Syrian delegate. The East-West split in the UN continues, he said, because the small powers vote like imitative satellites. "The small powers should not forget their importance and the value of their votes."

The speech was a spur to Asiatic and African members in particular to play a stabilizing role.

CHINA

A new state for the people

CANNON boomed in Peiping and Mao Tse-tung told the world: "We announce the establishment of the People's Republic of China."

Before him were 661 delegates to the People's Political Consultative Conference. Some represented political organizations running from left to center; some spoke for workers in their areas, for farmers, for groups of scientists, teachers, businessmen, artists.

Some were specifically invited, like Madame Sun Yat-sen, widow of the founder of the first Chinese Republic; Gen. Cheng Chien, former governor of Hunan who took himself and his province from Chiang Kai-shek's camp to the Communists; Gen. Chang Chih-chung who came to the Communists as a peace emissary to bargain for Chiang. When the bargaining failed, Chang Chih-chung stayed on.

For three months preparatory committees had been at work drafting a constitution for the conference to consider.

PEOPLE RULE: Mao asked the delegates to ratify what he called the "People's Democratic Dictatorship." The people were to be the dictators, Mao told them. "Imperialists and domestic reactionaries" were to be the dictated.

The government was to be under the leadership of the Communist Party, but the coalition was to be the broadest in the history of China.

In foreign affairs, Mao said, China will stand with all peace-loving people "first with the Soviet Union and the new democratic countries."

The economy would be only partly socialized, Chang Lan, representative of the China Democratic League, told the conference. The government formula would differ from the unified political-administrative system of the U.S.S.R.

Knock at the door

While the delegates pondered the new China, the Governor of Suiyuan in Inner Mongolia and 38 other provincial leaders proclaimed their adherence to it. Next door in Ninghsia province, 20,000 Moslem troops revolted and brought their arms to the Communists. The Moslem Gen. Ma Hung-kwei had been among the last hopes of the U.S. and Britain. There were few horses left on which to put Western money.

MADAME SUN YAT-SEN
The invitation was special

British and U.S. diplomats last week huddled. They agreed to consult each other before trading with New China. And in Lake Success they waited for the giant to come knocking at the door (see UN).

HOMECOMING: Into Hong Kong last week pulled the S.S. General Gordon fresh from the U.S. On it were 100 Chinese students coming home from U.S. schools. Their families had written them to come back to the New China. A teacher on board said: "We must go back with open minds. Many of us may not like some aspects of life under the Communists, but we all feel, for the present at least, that what is being attempted is being done for the benefit of the Chinese people."

HUNGARY

U.S.-Yugoslav plot charged at trial

FROM Budapest, international repercussions swept far last week as the Hungarian government tried Laszlo Rajk, former Foreign Minister, and seven other men on charges of treason and conspiracy to overthrow the republic.

The defendants' confessions made the Tito-Cominform controversy boil the more furiously as they charged that agents of Yugoslavia, the U.S. and Britain had engineered a plot to set up an anti-Soviet regime in Hungary.

NAMES ABOUND: Rajk and his codefendants told detailed stories of espionage, mentioning names of Yugoslavs, Britons and Americans involved in the alleged machinations. Allen W. Dulles, former OSS chief in Europe and brother of Sen. John Foster Dulles, was called an architect of the conspiracy.

All 19 prosecution witnesses denounced Rajk as a prewar anti-Communist agent, a Trotskyite provocateur in Spain and France and a postwar spy.

A strange twist came in the mention of Noel H. Field as a U.S. "plotter." He was identified as an official of the "capitalist front" Unitarian Service Committee. (Field was hounded out of State Dept. and Unitarian jobs as a "communist" and was branded by Whittaker Chambers a year ago as part of a "communist apparatus" in Washington in the 1930's.)

POINTS OF FOCUS: The prosecutor demanded death for Rajk and the other seven. In Prague, Warsaw, Sofia, Bucharest and Moscow, newspapers played up testimony linking Tito with Western conspirators. In Belgrade, the trial was labeled another Cominform propaganda attack.

GERMANY

Hitler walks again in Fourth Reich

THE Fourth Reich was born at Bonn last week. The rites were simple. The Allied High Commission, acting as godparents, smiled.

As in Hitler's Third Reich there was again an ambitious Reichschancellor and a figurehead for a President. Military occupation was giving way to civilian supervision. Anti-Semitism flourished; the publisher of **Der Stuermer**, most virulent of Nazi organs whose editor Julius Streicher was hanged, announced that he would revive the paper soon. U.S. investors were encouraged to rebuild German industry.

When Chancellor Konrad Adenauer received from the Allied High Commission the statute under which he was to govern, he clamored as did other chancellors before him for a return of German lands in the east.

In the parliament at Bonn speakers went beyond their Chancellor and demanded "return" of the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia — Hitler's war cry when he marched into that country. Jack Raymond, writing in the New York **Times**, described the members of parliament in debate at Bonn: "They freely whistled and shouted, 'Phooey!' . . . Some merely howled inarticulately to quell opposing speakers with sheer bedlam."

SECOND GLANCE: The U.S. State Dept. apologized to the New York **Times**. The **Times** had reported that Reichspresident Dr. Theodor Heuss had voted for the enabling act which gave Hitler full dictatorial powers. The State Dept. indignantly denied it at first, but last week took another look at the record and admitted the report was correct.

STOLBERG SLEPT HERE: While some looked fondly back to the Third Reich, others looked still farther back. The **U.S. News** recalled old times at Wernigerode Castle in the Hartz Mountains: "Residents . . . look back with nostalgia to the good old days of their childhood when the Prince was doing well, festivals were many and . . . [they] felt protected by the paternalism of one of Germany's most benevolent aristocrats."

Wernigerode is in the Eastern Zone and Prince Ernst-Christian Stolberg-Stolberg, who owned 68,000 acres, 12 forests and five factories, fled when the Russians came. His castle is now the Feudal Museum of the East Zone. In his bedroom stands his four-poster and next to it a pillowed couch and a sack of straw. The museum says one belonged to his mistress, the other to one of his subjects.

Daily Worker, London
"He wants to know how many votes he got."

Report to readers

Of course you have 4 friends!

IN THE early weeks of August, 1948, a mailing list of people throughout the U.S.A.—most of them folks who had rallied behind the Wallace campaign—received a "preview" issue of a proposed progressive newsweekly.

There was no prior announcement. The only "promotion" was a series of teasers spotted through the paper:

EVERYONE HAS 4 GOOD FRIENDS

On a back page, we put our proposition for advance subscribers to this newsweekly, which might see the light of day if enough people showed interest.

"Have you got 4 good friends? [we asked]. The cause of an independent newsweekly is yours as well as ours. That is why we are asking you to sit down and mail us $1. . . .

"You can do five times as much . . . write down below the names and addresses of four friends. Put $5 in an envelope addressed to us. . . ."

The responses tumbled in by ones, fives and better. Many people wrote out long lists, collected dollars from dozens of friends, sent them on.

By the time NATIONAL GUARDIAN was ready to go into publication last Oct. 18, we had nearly 5,000 advance subscribers.

PERHAPS you were one of that original 5,000. If so you know the story of the GUARDIAN's ups and downs in those critical weeks.

The facts are—as of this week exactly 11 months after Vol. I, No. 1—that whether you are a charter subscriber, newsstand reader, trial subscriber, recipient of a gift subscription or already signed up as a GUARDIAN reader for next year, you are among a total present circulation of 123,000 weekly readers of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

This tremendous expansion, in less than a year, of a publication starting from scratch, makes us jubilant about the kind of people who read and support the GUARDIAN. If you are one of our pioneers, the people who have weekly and monthly sent us new readers by the dozens and by the hundreds, you cannot help but share our satisfaction.

If you are a newer reader, here's what the staff of the GUARDIAN asks you now, man to man and woman to woman. Our pioneers joined up to build the GUARDIAN to its present level in a spirit of personal proprietorship. Will you join us and them in the same spirit of active cooperation?

NATIONAL GUARDIAN has never had—and doesn't expect to have—the kind of money required for the fabulous promotion campaigns of magazines like **Time, Life, Newsweek** and the rest. That kind of money comes from advertisers, of whom we have none.

We are not out to build a circulation for the benefit of advertisers, but rather for the purpose of giving wider and wider currency to news and views regularly excluded from the commercial press and radio. Furthermore, since we do not now depend on advertising revenue and do not intend to depend on it for our future, we must look to our own readers to guarantee the GUARDIAN's future.

Therefore we ask you, as a reader, to shoulder some of the task of maintaining and increasing GUARDIAN circulation.

WE ASK you—as an individual—to do two things right now, today.

First—make sure that you, yourself, have signed up for the next full year as a GUARDIAN subscriber. Even if you've got a month or so to go, renew now and we'll add it on the end of your present subscription.

Then—subscribe for a friend, neighbor or associate, or several of the same. Better still, introduce the GUARDIAN to them and get them to subscribe.

Everyone has four good friends—and they'll be better friends if you make GUARDIAN readers of them.

How about it? Right now, while you're thinking of it! Use the coupon below—your own renewal, the four friends (or as many as you can think of at this moment.)

Yours for a million GUARDIAN readers,

John T. McManus

P.S.—This is NOT devaluation, but as an anniversary present we're making it $1 a year, for renewals or new subscribers. That's a 50% discount off the list price, for a limited period. Got a pencil?

Enter the following subscriptions to NATIONAL GUARDIAN at the special anniversary rate of $1 for a full year.

PRINT names address ZONE state

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☐ **Bill me** **Sender's name** ....

$........ enclosed **Address** ....

NATIONAL GUARDIAN 17 Murray St., New York 7

Books under the counter

If you name it Macy's has it!—but not for you

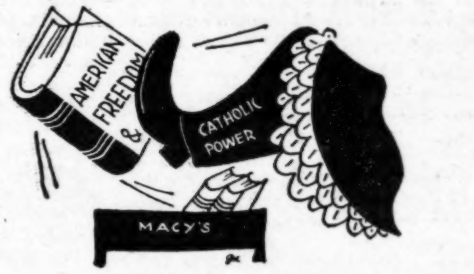
I won't go to Macy's any more, more, more,
There's a big fat policeman at the door, door, door;
And if he hears you holler, he'll get you by the collar—
I won't go to Macy's any more, more, more.

Anon.

By Sebastian Barr

THE Sept. 17 issue of **Publishers' Weekly,** journal of the American book industry, carries an astonishing if not exactly surprising item that should interest every reader of the GUARDIAN.

Macy's in New York has one of the largest book departments in one of the largest department stores in the country. "Macy," reports **P.W.,** "has withdrawn from its book department Paul Blanshard's 'American Freedom And Catholic Power' (Beacon Press), and now makes it available only on special order."



NO TRADE FLOP: Now Macy's is known as a very shrewd merchandising outfit. Store space is valuable; the executives know exactly how much each square foot of counter space is worth in profits. Any book that doesn't pay its way—out it goes. Free enterprise being what it is, you would assume, accordingly, that Blanshard's book was a flop—a slow-moving piece of merchandise that had to give way to a faster-moving item.

Not at all. Sales nationally had reached 35,000 through Sept. 9, weekly trade sales were averaging over 2,000, and a new printing of 15,000 had just brought the total number of copies in print to 55,000. Blanshard's book had hit the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** best-seller list Sept. 11, had reached eighth place on the N.Y. **Times'** list for the same week, and was fourth on the Chicago **Sun-Times** list.

A PLACE TO HIDE: In other words, "American Freedom And Catholic Power" had established itself as a best-seller. Macy's is not accustomed to hiding best-sellers under the counter. Quite the contrary—but definitely!

Nevertheless, you won't find Blanshard's book on Macy's counters.

The decision, **Publishers' Weekly** reports, "was made during the latter part of August, at a time when the book's sale had accelerated because of the recent exchange of letters between Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt.

"Macy received, but rejected, a vigorous demand in July by a Catholic businessman that the book be withdrawn from sale. After study of the book, however, the store executives decided not to continue its regular stock."

GOBBLEDEGOOK: Meanwhile, customers have complained about not finding the book in stock. "Sorry," says Macy piously. "It is not our policy to act as self-appointed censor of what people should read." The store, say the executives, has adopted a "middle policy," neither carrying the book in regular stock nor rejecting it altogether.

What kind of gobbledegook is this? Obviously the book wasn't removed because some people wanted to buy it. It was removed because other people didn't want them to get it. Can these be the same other people who got the **Nation** banned from the New York schools when chapters from Blanshard's book appeared as articles in that magazine?

ROCKS IN BOSTON: Meanwhile the publisher, Beacon Press, reports that on Sept. 6 two windows in its Boston quarters were smashed by stones. "By whom hurled and for what reason, unknown," says **Publishers' Weekly** laconically.

There is only one conclusion possible. To paraphrase the title of Blanshard's book, American freedom is being endangered by Catholic power.

Pots & pocketbooks

Do you smell fish?

By Charlotte Parks

OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES' landlady in "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table" declared that she "couldn't keep house without canned salmon." She said that almost a hundred years ago. Salmon salad is a traditional American dish. Only a few years ago the government urged the eating of canned salmon at least once a week as a health measure. It is chockful of vitamin D and nutrition.

FISH TO FRY: Prices of canned salmon, tuna and sardines have fallen with a thud. But there are still cheaper canned fish that are equally delicious although not so familiar. Canned mackerel is at least a third cheaper than salmon. It makes a nice salad, creamed fish or fish cakes. If you want to make these dishes, be sure to get the mackerel put up without tomato sauce.

A worthy fish fry may be made by egging and flouring the good sized fillets in which the mackerel is canned, and then baking or frying them to a nice, crisp brown.

Canned pollak is now at a low of about 15c for a pound can. It is a whitefleshed fish and good creamed, for fishballs, or in a chowder.

Pollak chowder

1 can pollak
1 can evaporated milk (water to make qt.)
3 strips fried bacon (minced)
2 thinly sliced onions
2 stalks celery (chopped fine)
2 sliced potatoes (large)
2 tbsp. minced parsley
Paprika

Cook the onions, potatoes and celery until tender, break up with a fork, add fish, milk and bacon and sprinkle with paprika and parsley. Serve with plenty of oyster crackers or pilot biscuits. The old-fashioned way was to place pilot biscuit in the bowl and ladle in the chowder.

CLAMS AND CANS: You can smell the ocean when you open a can of minced clams, and they save a lot of trouble. I enjoyed clams a la mare nostra the other day in a noted Italian restaurant:

1 can minced clams
2 cups cream sauce

Place mixture in clam or scallop shells or in a shallow casserole dish; cover with fine bread crumbs; dot with margarine and sprinkle with grated cheese. Brown in oven. This can be prepared in the morning; if you're in a hurry, just serve the creamed clams with rice or potatoes.

Good health

"Physicians interested in obtaining the best health and medical care for all Americans . . . have a special responsibility to investigate the effects of discrimination, poverty and segregation which breed disease and endanger the health of all."

This is the highlight of a call to a Conference for Health Care Without Discrimination to be held Sat., Oct. 8, under the auspices of the Physicians Forum, at the Hotel Theresa, Seventh Av. and 125th St. in Harlem, "New York's number one health problem."

Sponsors include Eleanor Roosevelt, CRC director William Patterson, leading physicians, trade union leaders and executives of the NAACP.

Du Bois reports on Moscow Peace Congress

By W. E. B. Du Bois

NEW York's Peace Congress tried to arouse America against war; in Paris the greatest peace rally of modern times aroused the world for a peace offensive. The Moscow Congress last month, to which I was the only U. S. delegate (though others were invited), was designed to center the attention of the U.S.S.R. and its allies on the fact that it is not enough not to want war: the threat must be actively opposed.

To the lofty Hall of Columns of Soviet trade union headquarters, flanked by 28 corinthian columns, with 54 brilliant chandeliers and crimson upholstery, came 100 delegates from all Russia. There were delegations from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania (none from Yugoslavia); from Austria, West and East Germany (including Gerhard Eisler from Berlin); from Britain (including the Dean of Canterbury and scientist J. D. Bernal); from Italy (including Socialist leader Nenni); from France, with Gabriel d'Arbussier, vice-president of the African Democratic Union, from French colonial Dakar.

The audience had representatives of all classes from miners and peasants to professors. It was no gathering of ragtag, but a literate throng which had read considerably and now bought many books in the anterooms.

Translation earphones helped us foreigners, but watching the faces was more revealing. Those people were not cringing nor afraid. They had deep convictions and wanted more information.

Most of the speakers were hortatory, lauding the Soviets, scorning capitalism and blaming Britain and America for war-mongering, sparing no phrases nor inuendos in attacking the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Pact. But much information and many facts came out.

A Polish scientist said that 40% of their scientists were lost in the war. A Ukrainian collective farm leader said that, having lost 45,000,000 rubles of property and nearly all their stock in the war, the Ukraine was now making an annual farm profit of 2,000,000 rubles. An Uzbek peasant told how his land, rescued by the Soviets from slavery, had in nine years increased its country schools 300 fold.

From Latvia, Turkmenia, Georgia and the Kirghiz, from Rumania and Albania, came reports of wonderful progress since the war—all emphasizing war's hurt and uselessness, all asking only peace and time to bind the wounds and push forward to a social progress in which they expressed boundless faith. A magnificently-built Polish woman said: "Every drop of blood in my body shouts Never Again War!" When later I saw Warsaw, I knew what she meant.

The food at the crowded, informal closing reception was abundant and good: most stood and ate, but special guests were seated and waited upon. We had wines and champagne, caviar and watermelon, sprightly conversation and toasts, even with translation. I saw d'Arbussier having a jolly time. My interpreter danced with the leading ballerina.

On Monday we were taken to see the Kremlin. We were told that an American senator, seeing the extravagance of Tsarist wealth and power and 21,000 pearls sewed into one bishop's chasuble, remarked: "No wonder they had a revolution."

W. E. B. Du Bois, historian and veteran fighter for Negro rights, with a peasant delegate from the Soviet Far East. In his speech, Du Bois said: "With marvelous technique ... the U.S. has built the greatest industrial machine in history. But the power of private corporate wealth has throttled democracy.... Many Americans are not aware that the change into a welfare state is proceeding gradually; they are being carried away by propaganda that the freedoms they have can only be saved by a third world war."

(Above) Peasant delegates from republics of the Soviet Union. "Only some old people wore beards," reports Du Bois. "The beard as a Russian style is a thing of the past." (Below) 20,000 turned out for the public mass meeting Aug. 26, listening with the same intentness as the delegates "whose absorption throughout three days of double five-hour sessions put me to shame. . . . That crowd represented a new nation, a new world."

Women delegates from all parts of the multi-national U.S.S.R. register for the conference, wearing medals received for outstanding work. "These", writes Du Bois, "were ordinary human folk, dressed up but not conspicuously, with no poverty and no display of wealth. I saw one fur neckpiece and many ear-rings. Many speakers emphasized the share of women in every activity of the Soviets as 'a great and creative force'."

IF YOU HAVE CHANGED YOUR ADDRESS RECENTLY, PLEASE MAKE SURE NAME PLATE BELOW IS CORRECT. IF NOT PLEASE TEAR OFF NAME PLATE AND MAIL IT TO US WITH PROPER CORRECTIONS.